

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 PM-07 NSC-07 SP-03 SS-20 RSC-01

CIAE-00 INR-11 L-03 ACDA-19 NSAE-00 PA-04 PRS-01

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 USIE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 /117 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:DTELLEEN/RHFROWICK:RM

APPROVED BY EUR:AAHARTMAN

EUR:JGLOWENSTEIN

EUR/RPM:EJSTREATOR

C:VLEHOVICH

EUR/CE:MLEDISKY

L/EUR:DSMALL

S/S:SRGAMMON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

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USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 161159

E.O.11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE -- FOUR-POWER RIGHTS, EQUAL VALIDITY, AND
PEACEFUL CHANGE

REFS: A) BONN 11610; B) STATE 156349 ; C) BONN 11642

1. WE AGREE WITH FRG AND FRENCH VIEW REFTEL A THAT FOUR-
POWER RIGHTS LANGUAGE SHOULD BE TABLED BEFORE THE CSCE
BREAK, AND IF POSSIBLE BEFORE THE NEUTRAL PACKAGE IS
AGREED, SO THERE WILL BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT THE
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RELATIONSHIP OF THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS IN THE TENTH

PRINCIPLE.

2. AT THE SAME TIME, WE UNDERSTAND UK CONCERN WITH EFFECT THAT BONN GROUP LANGUAGE DESIGNED TO PROTECT FOUR-POWER RIGHTS MIGHT HAVE WITH REGARD TO BREZHNEV DOCTRINE. IT IS TRUE THAT BILATERAL AGREEMENT LANGUAGE HAS ALWAYS BEEN POTENTIAL LOOPHOLE FOR SOVIET-CZECH AND SIMILAR TREATIES. IT WAS IN PART TO MITIGATE THIS EFFECT THAT WE HAD PROPOSED (REFB) INSERTION OF WORD "CORRESPONDING" BEFORE "BILATERAL." FYI: WE BELIEVE TEXT WOULD ALSO BENEFIT BY ADDITION OF "AND RESPONSIBILITIES" AFTER "RIGHTS."

3. FOR LONDON. YOU SHOULD EXPLAIN TO FCO (TICKEL-/;UR VIEW ON DESIRABILITY OF TABLING FOUR-POWER LANGUAGE BEFORE CSCE BREAK AND ASK IF INSERTION OF WORD

"CORRESPONDING" WOULD ENABLE BRITISH TO AGREE TO TABLING THIS WEEK.

4. AS FOR PROBLEM OF LINKING CSCE PRINCIPLES TOGETHER, FRG SUGGESTION TO INTRODUCE LANGUAGE ON "EQUAL VALIDITY" IS PUZZLING, SINCE FRENCH TEXTUAL FORMULATION HAS LONG BEEN ON THE TABLE AT GENEVA IN PARAGRAPH 11 OF FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. HOWEVER, SUBJECT IS RIPE FOR DISCUSSION, AND WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT BONN GROUP STUDY ADEQUACY OF PARAGRAPH 11 TO MEETING CURRENT FRG CONCERN TO PREVENT EMERGENCE OF CSCE FRONTIER INVIOABILITY PRECEPT AS "SUPER PRINCIPLE." IN SO DOING, BONN GROUP WILL WANT TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF SOVIET POSITION RECENTLY REITERATED TO SAUVAGNARGUES BY GROMYKO INDICATING MOSCOW'S OPPOSITION TO LINKAGE BUT WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER A FORMULA FOR EQUAL APPLICATION OF ALL PRINCIPLES. MEANTIME, AT APPROPRIATE POINT IN GENEVA DISCUSSION OF NEUTRAL PACKAGE DEAL, US REP SHOULD CALL ATTENTION TO PARAGRAPH 11 OF FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

AND ASK THAT IT BE BORNE IN MIND IN DISCUSSIONS ON PACKAGE DEAL. THIS SHOULD HELP MEET CONCERN EXPRESSED BY BLECH PARA 2, REFTEL A.

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5. AS FOR US TABLING OF LANGUAGE ON POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL BORDER CHANGES IN PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY, WE ARE PREPARING GUIDANCE SEPTTEL. KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BERLIN QUADRIPARTITE MATTERS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 JUL 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: kelleyw0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE161159
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: DTELLEN/RHFROWICK:RM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740200-1073
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740720/aaaaarbe.tel
Line Count: 110
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A) BONN 11610; B) STATE 156349 ; C), BONN 11642
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: kelleyw0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 JUL 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24-Jul-2001 by kellerpr>; APPROVED <26 FEB 2003 by kelleyw0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE -- FOUR-POWER RIGHTS, EQUAL VALIDITY, AND PEACEFUL CHANGE
TAGS: PFOR, CSCE
To: GENEVA LONDON
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005